other messages. Elsewhere, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make spillages. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the Kenya Dorobo Forest the local natives to have died out, through a disease in 1932. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, against, normally used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 6 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The spillage of many pronged, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform. The arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps are to be made in less than ten minutes. The type is used chiefly to catch colobus, but leopards have been caught in them. Other traps with a drop-spear were also used by the Kikuyu and Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, forest of Aremenik, and in the district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the provision of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his body would mark to a great one and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Masai; it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be taken on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten), when a man is engaged, a man be carefully careful to the undergrowth, and after eating honey a Dorobo shows his hands in such, and (like the Masai) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *ol-kondi*, the honey-producing bush, *ol-kondi*, ordinary bees which live in trees; *kimondi*, earth bees, which live in the ground and *ol-kondi*, stones bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *ol-kondi*, into three kinds: the queen, *kokwet ol-kondi*, "[illegible] of the bees"; the workers, called simply *ol-kondi*, considered to be males; and the male honey-bee *ol-kondi*, "male" (*pl.*) *ol-kondi* and they consider it unlucky to kill the queen honey-bee, *kokwet ol-kondi*, considered to be the female, which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*kimondi*) are made either of bark of wood and together, with circular wooden end-pieces, or of the two halves of a piece of log split lengthwise and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and give to honey, give to honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a hive is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy. It is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purifications, and it forms an article of commerce.

Silkestingsford K-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

that one thing be used for both the female and homicide, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is prohibited.

Marriage with Kamâ

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Kamâ or members of the Kamâ group:

Dorobo and Kamâ women: 8	Dorobo and Kamâ men: 7
Dorobo and Kipsi women: 1	Dorobo and Kipsi men: 2
Dorobo and Pokot women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Kamâ, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere meanly. The wife is attended by a midwife, sometimes, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must provide somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (chief from the stomach on her face, breasts, and body. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's chief performance caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

Children receive their first names, the ajith-name, from other family, as among the Kamâ, the name is not used, but links the child with a preceding spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Kamâ custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *dorgh*, see ch. above were taking their

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kirwpakai, kimerenciakai, kilieciakai, 'Kumio kon, ogut kom komut', anee ki lakak.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *mamber*, *mama*, and *kwanda*, which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *mamber*, his *mama*, and his *kwanda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To these children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *mamber*, while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kwanda*; and a man's own children are *ajaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *mamber* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *mamber* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she *cuti ha*, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*siyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *yaacen amu uuanit hamet* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, *ramparwet*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *siyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *ndi cako*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the roots of a bush called *koshoit* (Nandi, *kotowet*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

51Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *siyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *wusit ap tawpisa* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipūyech pauyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilōk, ohdnech tiony ne hipave.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments/." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 [439] Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 562 834 [784] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /247/ (améta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

278 562 834 [888]

/247 cont./

arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Asa nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

278 411 224 [237] [281]

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